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Work values antecedents and consequences

Hikspoors, F.J.H.G.

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1 INTRODUCTION

When studying work values and its consequences we run into a great number of related concepts such as intrinsic extrinsic and societal work values, work centrality, employment commitment, organizational commitment, work value fit and others. The choice is made to have a number of chapters that highlights one or two of those concepts. In this introductory chapter all of these concepts will be shortly referred to and an overview will be created.

This dissertation will therefore consist of three more or less separate studies where the role of work values is evaluated longitudinally and against a number of background variables like age, gender, education, sector of work, and others where the differences will be analyzed in terms of country differences or differences in groups of countries (e.g. production regimes).

1.1 Work as a central concept for people and scientists

During the latter part of the 20th and the first part of the 21st century, studies about work and organizational attitudes (often from an international perspective) were emphasized, as never before, by scientists, managers, and politicians. This implicates that work is regarded as a very important subject for scientific study. This is due to the fact that the reproduction of the population and a certain standard of living has to be safeguarded by means of labor.

There may be several reasons as to why people engage in paid work. In the days of the industrial revolution until the first decades of the twentieth century, the central premise was that people that did not work had no income. This, among others, made Karl Marx divide the people into owners of the production means and those who had nothing except their labor to sell in order to support themselves (Furåker et al, 2011). Things have drastically changed since the industrial revolution. The standard of living has increased dramatically also for those who depend upon doing paid labor. Along with the increase of the standard of living the state intervened and created provisions that gradually evolved into a welfare state and made it possible for people to escape from work in times of sickness or unemployment.

It has been argued that the welfare state undermines the necessity for people to work because a process of 'decommodification' has taken place (Esping-

Andersen, 1990, 1999). Decommodification can be described as the activities and efforts that reduce the reliance of citizens on the market (and their labor) for their well-being. So a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market (Esping Andersen, 1990, p 21). The discussion is if people are not dependent upon their labor (commodity) for their well-being what effect this has on the commitment to paid work. Some authors even ask themselves if welfare state provisions make people lazy (Esser, 2009). The problem of decommodification might be that people get less motivated to be employed in paid work. This issue will be the subject of study in chapter 3 of this dissertation. Although we can hardly conclude that people no longer have to work at all, the pressure upon them to do this has no doubt been modified (Furåker et al, 2011). This means that work is not only a necessity of economic survival but obviously has a broader function that surpasses the pure economic reasons. Therefore when discussing work a broader definition is needed. When it comes to defining work there are plenty of choices (Harpaz, et al, 1991; Ruiz - Quintanilla & Wilpert, 1988; Maimor & Wilpert, 1994). We are choosing for a definition which starts from the functions employment potentially fulfills (Dlugos & Weirmair, 1981):

- Exchange - each person receives some form of compensation (money, benefits) for the service that he/she gives;
- Social contact - work provides interaction with other people;
- Status - work provides status and rank in society depending on the nature and level of work undertaken;
- Personal meaning - work provides a potential source of identity, self-esteem, self-actualization and fulfillment.

This definition as well as the sheer endless number of studies (Fischer, 2005) confirm the role of work being a key concept for scientists politicians managers and others (Furåker, 2011). This key concept that is the symbolic and economic centrality of work in post-industrial society, has been criticized by a number of authors (Gorz, 1999; Vecernik, 2002; Beck, 2000).

1.2 Modernization theory and crowding out thesis, welfare and its downside and motivation for public service

In this dissertation there will be more theories as points of reference, the modernization theory and the crowding out thesis both have the welfare state as a background. According to the modernization theory it is the economic development that is the driving force behind value change. Rising levels of income and education have their consequences on value development and value change. Pre-industrialist society is characterized by concern with survival needs, and dominance of religious belief. Industrialized society, on the other hand, emphasizes on material values like economic well-being, personal security, and national security, increased productive capability, and control over nature (Inglehart & Baker 2000). See figure 1.1.

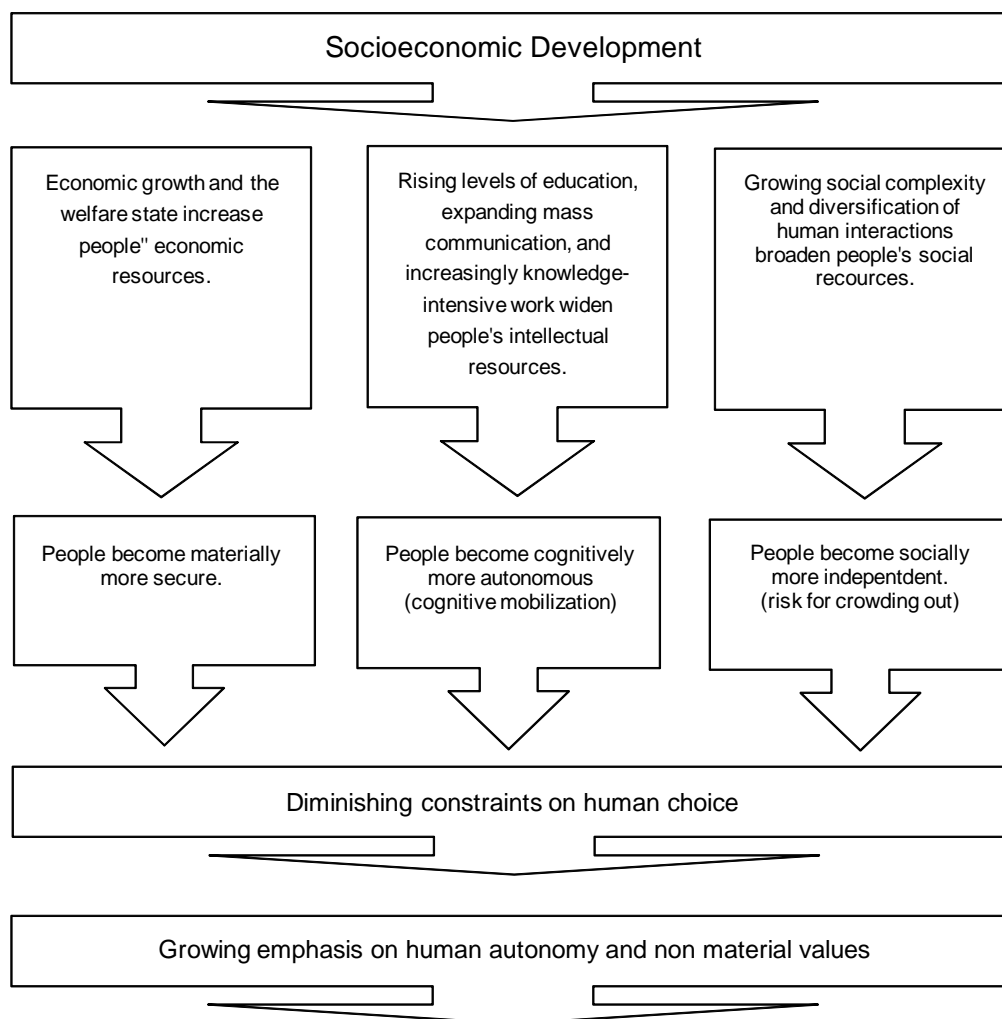


Figure 1.1 Modernization theory according to Inglehart Source: Inglehart & Welzel, 2000, p. 25 (adaptation Hikspoors)

Ultimately, the post-industrial society, characterized by high levels of affluence and safeguards provided by the (welfare) state, establishes new priorities of human goals and social values that are essentially post-materialist.

In the area of work values this would imply that “extrinsic” work values (with emphasis on money, job security, and career possibilities) would be gradually replaced by more intrinsic work values in more prosperous countries. In the research of Esser (2005) however this theory was not or partly confirmed and the work values appeared to be more traditional in those countries that were more prosperous.

Not only values have changed during the transition from pre-industrialist to post industrialist but also a shift in work and work types can be distinguished. In the second half of the fifties the United States became the world's first society to have a majority of its labor force employed in the service sector. During the next few decades, the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) agreed that cultural change in postindustrial society was moving in a new direction (Inglehart & Baker 2000). Therefore, the economic development has two main consequences:

- the dimension of emphasis on material wellbeing and escape from hunger and poverty are linked with early industrialization and the rise of the working class;
- the emphasis on non-material and personal growth reflects the changes linked with the affluent conditions of advanced industrial society and with the rise of the service and knowledge sectors.

Basically the developments can be summarized in the figure below.

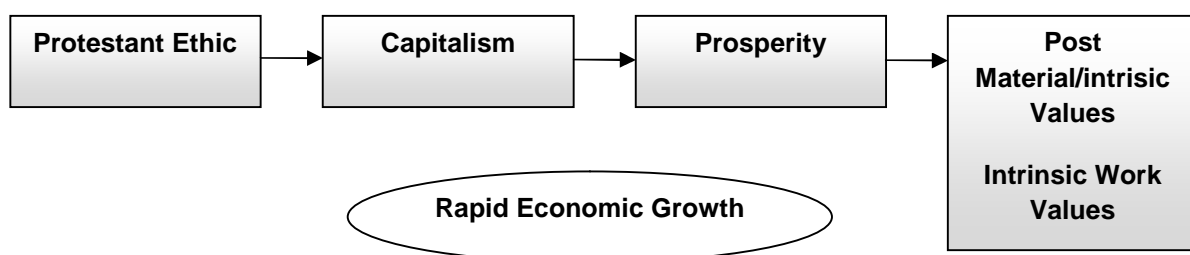


Figure 1.2 Modernization scheme (Source Harding & Hikspoors 1995) (adaptation Hikspoors)

If the modernization theory is right this would also imply that the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) would be subject to profound change as a result of changing

circumstances (Modrak, 2008) and as a result of e.g. immigration an Islamic work ethic would arise and substitute the traditional protestant work ethic to a certain extent (Modrak, 2008). The modernization theory is not being uncriticized. Some think that the causal order between economic development and value change is the opposite as been suggested above and economic development are a result of value change rather than a consequence.

There are two hypotheses that are important in this respect, the socialization hypothesis (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995; Peterson & Ruiz - Quintanilla, 2003; Smola & Sutton, 2002) and the scarcity hypothesis (Hessels, van Gelderen & Thurik, 2008). The socialization theory assumes that someone's values reflect to a great extent the prevailing circumstances during his/her formative years. Since current generations are raised during the booming of the welfare state it is most likely that this is reflected in values.

The scarcity hypothesis assumes that someone's priorities reflect his/her socioeconomic circumstances. Therefore he/she attaches the greatest value to relatively scarce goods. Thus the level of development of the welfare state should be a predictor of whether the population favors non-materialistic life goals (such as independence); or to put it in the terms of the current study intrinsic work values. It is generally agreed that intrinsic work values, such as an interesting job, variety, autonomy, challenging work, etc., are important for the development of a strong job involvement among employees (Kanungo, 1982; Pinder, 1998).

A second theory is the one of the crowding out hypothesis. Contrasting the positive effects of the welfare state this theory emphasizes the negative consequences of welfare. When a person is simply subjected to a decision, he perceives the interference to be controlling, and her intrinsic motivation for the respective activity is crowded out (Frey, 1997). For the intrinsic motivation this is illustrated, by referring to Titmuss, who found that voluntary blood donation in the UK was far more effective than commercial blood donation in the US and Ryan and Deci, who argue that when a person perceive an external intervention to be controlling, their intrinsic motivation to perform their task diminishes (Deci & Ryan quoted in Frey et al, 1997). In this respect some refer it as the hidden costs of rewards. In fact the intrinsic motivation is crowded out. This also applies for the relation institutions and persons and in particular the welfare state (Frey, 1997). For every welfare state, if social obligations become increasingly public, then its institutional arrangements to

an increasing extent crowd out private obligations or make them at least no longer necessary. As a result, voluntary, familial, communal, and other interpersonal ties tend to weaken, people will lose their moral sense of collective and communal duties and responsibilities, and they will end up having less trust in their fellow citizens and in the institutions they are surrounded by (van Oorschot, Arts & Halman, 2005). Mixed evidence is found. When we apply this to the field of work values is that the more a welfare state is developed the less emphasis is put on intrinsic work values (Houston, 2009) and those work values that explicitly refer to the social values of helping people and contributing to society.

A third theory is the so called Public Service Motivation (PSM) theory (Perry, 2000; Steijn, 2008). This is closely related to the crowding out thesis. PSM tries to find out which work values are attractive to people that are or want to be employed in public service. The “helping others” and “being useful for society” values are usually regarded as typical for people employed in the public sector (Steijn 2008). Since these values are crowded out by welfare state provisions it is interesting to see if they are stronger among those employed in civil service than with private employed people. A second aspect is if these values are typical for public service then people employed in this sector value the fit between the demand of these values and the extent up to which they are met in the working situation.

1.3 Work centrality

Work centrality has been defined as “the degree of general importance that working has in the life of an individual at any point in time” (MOW, 1987).

Some, Marxist oriented, critics hold the view that global rise of productivity, driven by technological developments, has made it possible to satisfy our basic needs with less or even minimal human effort. Furthermore, the “deskilling process”, caused by the technological progress of the production process, makes wage labor less and less satisfying (Braverman, 1974). Therefore, according to these critics, the phenomena of labor should be further rationalized and maximally reduced. They don’t want to abolish work as a human activity but try to free it from economic constraints (Paulsen, 2008). The underlying assumption for Paulsen is that people only work because they are forced to by economic reasons. A first step to an answer is the question if there are other values in work than financial ones? If we look at the

definition of Dlugos & Weirmair (1981) again, there are a number of non-financial functions of work for people to be: social contact, status and personal meaning. This implicates that besides manifest functions of gaining money to satisfy needs, work has latent functions as well. Where the manifest functions serve the economic goals the latent functions affect the psychological wellbeing of people.

These latent functions of work in general and the psychological wellbeing in particular have been subject of scientific study for almost 100 years Weber (1924) and DeMan (1927) addressed this theme. In the more recent past Jahoda (1981) explicitly named the psychological wellbeing and stated that paid work has both manifest and latent functions that affect the individual's psychological well-being, with their presence being essential and their absence harmful. Therefore work centrality not only refers to economic but even as much to psychological and sociological processes. A diminishing work centrality would therefore have implications for the latent functions of work as well. The concept of work centrality is the main subject of chapter 2 of this dissertation. There we will investigate if the centrality of work really diminished over time and if there are country-differences.

Some scientists argue that work centrality can be measured in absolute terms (Isaksson et al, 2004). This position is somewhat problematic, it appears that the centrality of something always entails a comparison with something else (Furåker, 2011). That is exactly this dissertation centrality of work is going to be compared to centrality of other areas in life like politics religion, friends, family, and leisure. This will be the starting point of chapter 2. By comparing it to other areas in life the relative importance of work is going to be studied.

1.4 *Values attitudes, orientations and fit*

From the idea that work is a key concept for people and that work has several other than financial functions follows that people's work values and attitude to work, are essential. George & Jones (1997, p. 357) consider values attitudes and moods to be studied as one "package" they say: "The joint or simultaneous consideration of work values, attitudes, and moods necessarily requires an appreciation of how these aspects of the work experience are similar to each other, differ from each other, and how they are interrelated or affect each other." They work from the VAM (Values Attitudes and Moods) model that suggests that work values are the most stable and

that attitudes and moods differ in that respect that they differ in their dynamism that is the rate in which they are likely to change. Since the moods are most unstable and hard to measure we will restrict ourselves to work values and work attitudes. Work values together with work centrality will be subject of study in chapter 1. Since they are the more stable than attitudes, a change in work values is an important indicator of change. Therefore a longitudinal analysis is going to be made by which we can compare the change in work values in nearly three decades.

As mentioned above, work attitudes are an important element to be considered together with work values. Some researchers suggested that attitudes are most usefully viewed in terms of affective evaluations of an object. Other researchers pointed out that attitude is composed of affects, cognitions, and behavioral intentions. Therefore George & Jones (1997) concluded that attitudes organize and summarize how people feel and think about their jobs and organizations which, in turn, can affect their subsequent experiences.

Given the fact that attitudes always have besides a cognitive and emotional element a disposition to act (Ajzen, 1991; Petty & Cacioppo, 1996). It can be argued that work attitudes partly can predict working behavior. A further indication can be found in the research of Smith (1977) who found a correlation between satisfaction and attendance at the work place during conditions of a snow storm in a particular plant of a company, while no correlation was found in plants of the same company where weather conditions were good. This is essential because the only way in which we can learn about intention to act and its consequences.

A positive attitude towards work in general, or a given work task in particular, increases the likelihood that tasks are carried out carefully and responsibly. If people are willing to contribute their efforts, we can expect other things to happen than if they are unwilling. More work is likely to be done, and it is likely to be done with better quality and in a more efficient way (Furåker, 2011). Accordingly work attitudes are crucial for the production and the standard of living in society.

1.5 Value change, intrinsic value orientation and post-materialism

In literature (George & Jones, 2002; Ester, Braun & Vinken, 2006) there is a distinction between intrinsic (emphasis on personal development, achievement, and

autonomy) and extrinsic work values (emphasis on extrinsic rewards or the external outcomes a person can get from work, as salary or stability).

There is supposed to be a shift from extrinsic to intrinsic work values over time. The reason why this is the case is formulated by Yankelovich (1994):

“In industrialized society, work has been regarded as a means for economic growth and the accumulation of money and possessions, in other words as a result of work material success was strongly emphasized, and therefore extrinsic or instrumental work orientation had developed. In advanced welfare states work is not any longer a necessity to provide security and to satisfy basic needs. Instead of focusing on only material and economic success other values became more prominent, quality of life issues, care for the environment, self-development through work, individual autonomy and well-being became key issues. These were increasingly seen as dependent upon self-realization. A precondition for this development is of course the ability to satisfy basic needs for a large group of people in modern advanced, rich, welfare states, such conditions are satisfied and ‘work no longer means “Adam’s curse” – a disagreeable necessity undertaken solely for survival purposes” (Yankelovich et al, 1985, p. 13).

With regard to work values these developments are assumed to have triggered the emphasis on intrinsic work qualities (Halman & Muller, 2006).

A related concept that starts from the viewpoint that the satisfaction of basic needs is not a key issue anymore is the idea of post-materialism (Inglehart, 1977). The sociological theory of post-materialism assumes an ongoing transformation of individuals and society which liberates them gradually from the stress of basic acquisitive or materialistic needs. In the first place, the term “post-materialism” and the related concept of “the silent revolution” indicating a shift from a more materialist oriented value pattern to one in which non- or post-material values prevail.

1.6 Two kinds of commitment

Studying attitudes to work and employment, there needs to be made a number of distinctions. First of all it is important to distinguish between two main categories: attitudes to work in general and to specified jobs (Furåker et al., 2011). Two

categories that are frequently used in the literature about work attitudes (that correspond with the distinction mentioned above) are the following:

- Employment commitment for work in general (Jahoda, 1981; Hult, 2005);
- Organizational commitment for attachment to an organization in particular (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1974).

Employment commitment refers to 'the importance that people attach to employment on intrinsic grounds, that is to say irrespective of the financial or concrete organizational implications' (Jahoda, 1981; Gallie, 1998; Hult, 2005). The concept of organizational commitment is often taken to refer to a combination of three different attitudinal elements among employees: a) identification with the values and goals of the employing organization; b) readiness to exert effort to help the employing organization succeed; and c) willingness to remain with the employer (Mowday & Steers, 1979, Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982; Lincoln & Kalleberg, 1990; Gallie et al; 1998).

It should be pointed out, however, that attitudes to work in general may not easily be kept separate from specific work (if people are asked about work in general they often take their own job as a point of reference) (Furåker et al, 2011). Therefore in the course of this dissertation in chapter 3 and 4 employment commitment and organizational commitment will be studied and put into a broader perspective. Employment commitment is going to be studied in relation to the institutional background.

Both employment commitment and organizational commitment will be related to values in general and value fit in particular. According to the literature (Kristof, 1996; Mottaz, 1988; O'Reilly et al., 1991; Taris & Feij, 2001) compatibility between the values of persons and organizations has a positive effect on organizational commitment and work performance. If we look at value congruence into some more detail, we can see the following: values of persons lead to certain needs in work situations. Values of organizations lead to supplies of organizations. This will result in a needs-supply fit. Needs-supply fit (value fit) will be related to organizational commitment and turnover intentions. The relationship between needs and supplies within the framework of value studies is depicted in the Figure 1.3.

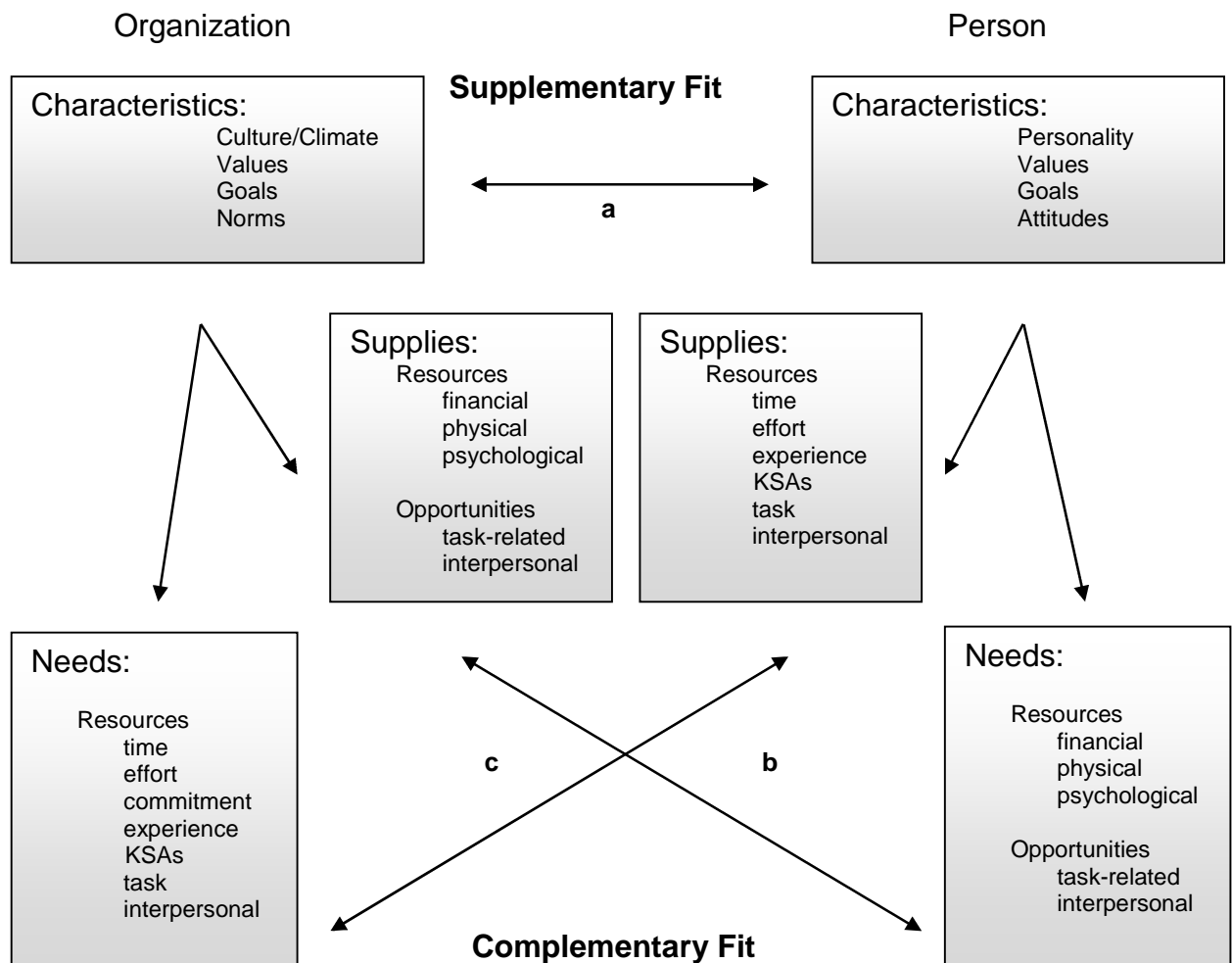


Figure 1.3 Conceptualizations of Person–Organization fit with Needs-Supply fit (Kristof, 1996, p. 4)

Figure 1.3 also characterizes the exchange from organization and persons. Typical characteristics from the organization are: culture, values goals, and norms. These form the basis for the needs and supplies of the organization. Needs can be resources time effort and commitment and of course Knowledge Skills and Abilities (KSA). The supplies the organization can offer are of course financial psychological and personal aspects. The other side of the exchange forms the person. Here we see the characteristics personality values and attitudes. These can lead to personal needs (like physical, financial and psychological) and the need for opportunities (task related and interpersonal). The supplies of the side of the person can be time, effort, commitment and experience as well as KSA.

The central issue of chapter 4 will be if a complementary fit as indicated under arrows a and b will lead to a greater commitment. Given the analysis above under 1.3 and 1.4 the following issues will be central in this study:

- Work centrality and Work values (Chapter 2);
- Employment commitment (Chapter 3);
- Commitment to a specific work and the fit between demand and supply values as well as its consequences (Chapter 4).

In section 1.8 there will be a short overview of the topics in each chapter.

1.7 *International comparative perspective*

Work values and attitudes are rooted in culture and education as we shall further argue in chapter 2. The influence of culture on various aspects of work values attitudes and behavior has attracted growing attention. Possible causes for this increase in attention are: globalization, global sourcing, rapidly changing economic and social conditions such as workforce diversity, widespread, availability of telecommunication, and global competition (Aycan, 2000). In the last few decades many methods were developed to assess the international cultural differences (Hofstede, 1984, 2001; Schwartz, 1999; Trompenaars, 1994). The models developed have demonstrated their efficacy (Parbotehea & Cullen, 2003). National culture provides useful explanation for differences between nations regarding differences in individual work behaviors, attitudes, and values (Parbotehea & Cullen, 2003). Still one has to recognize that culture is only one of the many environmental factors influencing attitudes. Research (Parbotehea & Cullen, 2003) has shown that within the cultural framework it are the *institutions* that can provide more explicit explanations for the difference in attitudes and values. Institutions as systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions (Hodgson, 2006 p. 13) do have an own dynamic and development. For the purpose of this study Institution will be used in the sense of production regimes. Therefore production regimes will function as a framework of analysis.

The fruitfulness of comparative research designs that include cultural and institutional differences as important factor was advocated (Kalleberg, 1988). He argues that this kind of research is necessary to understand how institutional differences between countries are shaped. However some remarks have to be made. Most cross-national research on work centrality and work values compares predictors of work centrality in two to six countries (Harpaz & Fu, 1997; Mannheim, 1993; Hult, 2002). Although sample size frequently limits cross-national comparisons, researchers nevertheless often draw far reaching conclusions regarding the cultural bases of differences between countries. The less common studies with larger country samples emphasize either simple description of cross-national differences in work centrality. A simple descriptive analysis against this background seems to make sense. A second restriction is made by Fischer and Fischer (2005). In an article on commitment and economic performance they found some results that rather were explained by contextual differences with certain questions than difference in content. It is argued by some (Svallfors et al, 2003) that including a more structural explanatory framework would add value to the study of work orientations and the corresponding differences between countries. In this study we chose for eight (and in the first chapter thirteen) nations of different production regimes. Production regimes are institutional interactions between government, labor, and employers (Huber & Stephens, 1999). Production regimes will be the main framework of analysis. In particular in chapter 3 we will embark upon the production regimes. The two main types of production regimes are liberal market economies (LME) and coordinated market economies (CME) (Hall & Soskice, 2001). The production regime perspective underlines the strategic actions and interactions of firms in relation to other actors (unions, governments, other firms, their employees, etc.) and the most important institutions that are conditioning these relationships and interactions. In the LME, hierarchies and markets are the main mechanisms of coordinating interactions. In the CME are the interaction and coordination between actors more influenced by non-market relationships, for example the unions and governments.

One central difference between LMEs and CMEs has to do with the character and quality of employees work and work situation (Soskice, 1999; Gallie, 2007).

The CMEs are characterized by a focus on high quality products that besides advanced technology require a highly skilled workforce. A major problem for the employer is to have access to a supply of a highly skilled work force and to train them

to the specific work tasks. Furthermore, a large knowledge component in the work process usually implies relatively high levels of independence. Both these factor – the investments in training and the employees relative work autonomy – leads to more dependence of the employer on employees and makes the employers more willing to cooperate with unions and governments. Within the Coordinated Market Economies often a subdivision is made between Nordic and Rhineland systems referring to the coordinated market regimes in the Scandinavian countries and those in Germany the Netherlands and Belgium.

The LMEs are characterized by the production of quantity goods, which, on the one hand, demand a less skilled labor force and therefore less investment in training. On the other hand, highly skilled professional and managerial segments are also needed to secure innovations to keep up in the market competition and for administrative purposes in more hierarchical organizations. This creates a polarization of working conditions for low and high skilled employees. Furthermore, a production-system intended for quantity-production is generally characterized by greater volatility to market changes, which in turn demands greater numerical flexibility, i.e. the potential to change the numbers of the workforce. The working conditions in the LMEs are therefore less favorable for low skilled employees and the relations between management and employees more hierarchical and management are more antagonistic to unions. In figure 1.4 the distinction between the production regimes is graphically depicted.

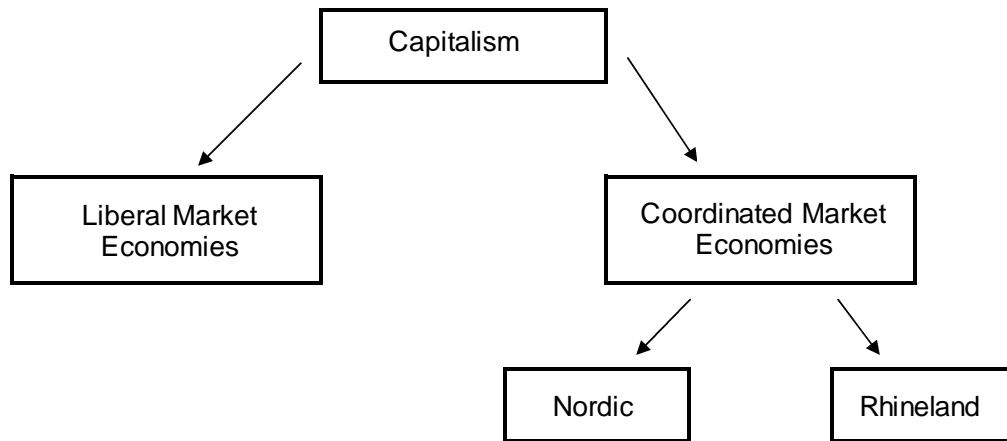


Figure 1.4 Diversity in capitalism

1.8 Data and methodology

In the course of this dissertation two datasets will be used to test hypotheses. Chapter 2 has a longitudinal character and is intended as an update of the 1995 article (Harding & Hikspoors, 1995). Therefore the same data is used and the same countries will be analyzed: The European Value Studies (Harding et al. 1986; Ester et al., 1993; Halman, 2001; Inglehart et al., 2004) is a large-scale, cross-national, and longitudinal survey research program on basic human values conducted in 1981 (16 countries), 1990 (29 countries), 1999/2000 (33 countries), and 2008 in (47 countries/regions). These surveys have been conducted with national samples in a large number of countries; here we will focus primarily on the following European countries: France, Great Britain, (West) Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Denmark, the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Belgium, and the Netherlands and for argument's sake we will include the US in order to compare the European trends to a non-European benchmark. The individual-level data come from the 1999/2000 and 2008/2009 European Values Study (www.europeanvalues.nl) and the 2000/2001 World Values Surveys (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). For information on these projects we refer to Halman (2001) and Inglehart et al. (2004).

Country \ Wave	1980	1990	1999	2008
Belgium (be)	936	2546	1819	1509
Denmark (dk)	1063	975	939	1507
France (fr)	1145	963	1572	1501
Germany-West	1243	2010	999	1071
Ireland (ie)	1173	998	972	1013
Italy	1358	1988	1170	1417
Netherlands (nl)	1071	987	991	1554
Northern Ireland	304	296	935	500
Norway*	947	1200	1121	1090
Spain (es)	2122	2417	1075	1500
Sweden (se)	891	1011	984	1074
United Kingdom (uk)	1135	1432	1000	1500
United States (us)	2325	1773	1180	--

Figure 1.5 The data from European Value Studies

* As Norway was not included in the EVS 1999, the Norwegian data from the WVS 1996/97 are used.

We have results for 2008. Due to a delay in the field work only 8 out of 13 countries are available. Given the comparative nature of this dissertation it is argued that it is worthwhile to give the results although they have to be cared with prudence. A full account with all countries involved will appear in print in Furåker, Hakkansson, and Karlsson in 2011.

The data analyzed in chapters 3 and 4 derive from the *International Social Survey Program* (ISSP), a comparative attitude survey inaugurated in the mid-1980s that now involves almost 40 countries. The characteristics of the sample are described by Svallfors, (1997 p. 287) and Hult (2005 p. 255). The ISSP represents an attempt to create a truly comparative data set for use in analyzing attitudes and values pertinent to a range of issues among the populations of industrialized countries (Davis & Jowell, 1989; Becker et al., 1990). From 1990 onwards, the survey replicates previous modules, allowing for comparison both between nations and over time (Svallfors, 1996). This project uses a subset of questions mainly drawn from the 2005 replicate of the *Work Orientation* module, in which 28 countries participated (Scholz, 2007. Zuma Methodenbericht 2007/3 ZUMA Mannheim). All eight countries

used random sampling methods in surveying their adult populations (>18 years). The achieved samples of the studied countries are reasonably representative of the adult populations in that they do not have extremely low response rates and they do not allow non-random. The net samples for the chosen countries comprise 1506 respondents in the USA, 764 in Great Britain, 1205 in New Zealand, 1020 for Germany West, 574 for Germany East¹, 1229 for Norway, 1234 for Sweden, 763 for The Netherlands, and 972 for Ireland. While comparative attitude research is potentially very fruitful, it is fraught with difficulties that may make results and interpretations fragile (Svallfors, 1996; Jowell, 1998). The intentions are to measure values or attitudinal differences. What is measured is often the differences in connotation attributed to various concepts, rather than substantial differences in values and attitudes (Svallfors, 1996). This problem has been dealt with as far as possible within the ISSP itself. The questionnaire design is a cross-national exercise involving drafting groups comprising people from several countries. There have been pre-tests to adapt the questionnaires. Translation difficulties have been dealt with by making two independent translations, one by an ISSP member and one by a translation expert adding a translator.

1.9 The separate chapters

The subject of our research is work values and their change in time. Concepts like work centrality employment commitment and organizational commitment will enable us to do so. The concepts show several cross-sections that have never been researched into detail while they originated different scientific traditions. However, we expect a certain parallelism in results. Therefore the work centrality, employment commitment and organizational commitment will be treated in a chapter each and in the final chapter we are going to draw some joint conclusions.

1.9.1 Work centrality and Work values (Chapter 2)

As already mentioned an important part of the first chapter is going to be dedicated to work centrality. The second important issue will be intrinsic and extrinsic work values

¹ There is a deliberate oversampling of the Eastern Federal States when analyzing Germany as a whole. This can be neutralized by using the following weighting factors 0.535069 for Eastern Germany and 1.2449486 for Western Germany.

and their development. Values and value congruence are considered important explanatory factors for work behavior, and therefore we will explore the nature and development of values. This second chapter is an actualized and improved version of an earlier article of Harding & Hikspoors (1995).

The scope will be on the development of values through time (longitudinal). Trends will be analyzed and interpreted in the light of the relation of values with background variables as age and gender. There will be an investigation if work centrality actually decreased and if so, if other aspects of life, as family or leisure gained popularity compared to 1980 and 1990. Moreover the development of intrinsic work values, the development of extrinsic work values and the development of post-materialism will be analyzed.

1.9.2 *Employment commitment (Chapter 3)*

Employment commitment refers to “the importance that people attach to employment on intrinsic grounds”, that is to say irrespective of the financial implications. The question is why people work. Are they in it for the money only or is there another reason to participate in paid employment? Do they want to escape work if possible? In a tight international labor market that is increasingly internationalizing and getting more and more competitive combined with an increasing call for cuttings on public spending, the commitment to paid employment becomes a factor of urgency in most countries. Unlike most studies in this study the institutional characteristics of countries in the form of so-called “production regimes” will be added as a possible explanatory element.

The concept of employment commitment used in most studies in the field is going to be critically reviewed and replaced by two forms of commitment. The first question that needs to be addressed is to what extent two kinds of commitment to work and employment varies between relatively similar countries in the western world.

Studies about the determinants of work values have rarely been conducted in a comparative perspective, and explanations and interpretations of differences have seldom been based on the deep-seated institutional differences found between different types of production regimes.

We investigate and compare this matter across eight western countries². Using data from the 2005 International Social Survey Program (ISSP). Based upon previous international research of Hult (2003, 2008), Gallie (2007), Esser (2005, 2009) and Parbotheea & Cullen (2003) employment commitment and its correlates and antecedents will be studied. The relations between employment commitment and antecedents are put into an international perspective. There will also be a paragraph on the gender preferences in work values and both kinds of employment commitment.

Unemployment and the ways to avoid it will also be studied in this chapter as well as the values that influence people's flexibility. Unemployment and work values will be another topic covered. A subject that has our scientific attention is the so-called Public Service Motivation. Motivation is mostly value driven and one of the problems that will be covered in chapter 3 and will be the question if there are differences in value orientation between people in public service and people employed in private companies.

1.9.3 Organizational commitment and the fit of needs-supply values (Chapter 4)

Since the definition of Dlugos & Weirmair (1981) explicitly includes the idea of exchange this is the basis not only for work but also for commitment. Hence a condition for the attachment of individuals to organizations will often be the fulfillment of financial needs or/and of personal ambitions or social affiliation (Mottaz, 1997). A correspondence between needs and supplies is referred to as needs-supply fit. This fit can lead to higher commitment which is the bottom line of chapter 4. Possible mediators in the relation between fit and commitment are going to be reviewed. A special kind of fit is the fit on the level of societal values. This will be researched in particular for the group of public sector employed people.

This chapter has some elements that are new or have hardly been researched in previous studies.

- First in this chapter the so-called funnel effect (Fischer, Brauns & Belschak 2002) that relates to the interrelation between needs and supplies and the

² Data enabled us to investigate the Eastern part of Germany separately and we found some interesting differences.

consequences for fit will be examined. A separate analysis will be made of the funnel-effect for people employed in the public sector.

- A second issue is the combination of needs and job satisfaction in four typologies and its effect on organizational commitment.
- A third issue is the supposed mediation of job satisfaction in the relation between fit and commitment and its difference between countries.
- Fourthly this chapter examines the form of the relationships of three different dimensions of needs and supplies fit (i.e. intrinsic work aspects, extrinsic work aspects, and societal aspects at work) with commitment, job satisfaction and intention to leave (Taris & Feij, 2001).
- A fifth and last issue is the value fit of people employed in the public sector. According to recent research in the Netherlands (Steijn, 2008) the relationship between societal values and commitment would be particularly visible with those employed in the public sector.

These issues will form the body of chapter 4.

1.9.4 Concluding epilogue

There will be a final and concluding chapter in which the important results are going to be analyzed and interpreted. Questions about the temporal development of values, the declining of work centrality and the shift from work orientations to leisure orientation, the antecedents and consequences of employment and organizational commitment will be answered within the framework of cultural and institutional international differences. Also the questions about commitment as reviewed in chapter 3 will be evaluated and analyzed. The country and production regime differences will be overviewed and commented on.